

THE UNION.

CITY OF WASHINGTON.

MONDAY NIGHT, NOV. 2, 1846.

THE CONSERVATISM OF THE FEDERALISTS.

For some thirteen years past—ever since the

whigs have rallied under that party name—they

have claimed to be the conservative party of the

country. It was the device of the old federalists,

their progenitors. Of old, in the federal dictionary,

conservative policy signified the erection of a govern-

ment stronger than the deliberate will of the peo-

ple. The principle was at war with all the best

elements of our institutions. Yet in that harness the

federal party lived and died. As is always the case

with a principle wholly erroneous, when it re-

appeared in the next generation among the whigs, it

put on a better form. Under the flag of conserva-

tism, we have seen, in late years, the whigs rallying

to perpetuate the monopoly power of a national

bank, after it had been avowedly turned as an

engine of attack against our government. In the

name of conservatism, the whigs first sought, and

are still seeking, to build up an oppressive scheme

of sectional taxation to pamper a few privileged

branches of industry, the gains of which, from

their very organization, must, as Mr. Webster

declared in 1824, go mainly into the pockets

of a few overgrown capitalists. In the name of

conservatism, the whigs have proposed

and advocated a distribution of the proceeds

of the public lands among the States; and

under the same pretext, and from the same party,

came the suggestion of an assumption of two hun-

dred millions of State debt by the national govern-

ment. In the name of conservatism the whigs have

gloried in striking out of the constitution that veto

power which its founders, both of the republican

and the federal party, declared to be essential to the

due equilibrium of the co-ordinate branches of our

government. In the name of conservatism, the

whigs went through the saturnalian canvass of 1840

with all its monstrous and disgraceful deceptions—

its "availability" candidates—its songs and its

shoutings—its log-cabins and its hard-core! These

were the shapes assumed by the old federalist

conservatism after its political metamorphosis

among the whigs. The doctrine of the old philoso-

pher was verified to the letter. The old error was

born again in a more degraded and bestial form.

All these things were put forth by the conservative

whigs as the blossoms of the "green tree." Let

us see now what are the fruits which we are gather-

ing from the "dry."

There is not this moment, throughout the whole

length and breadth of the land, one political faction,

or one social heresy, however depraved or dan-

gerous, of which the whigs do not seek the al-

liance, and upon which they are not pertinaciously

urging the easiest terms of amalgamation. Of

these factions, the abolitionists are the most

desperate, numerous, and formidable. Yet

wherever abolition is most rank and rife, wherever

it avows most boldly its resolves to break down the

constitution, and its purposes of disunion, there the

whigs have been as a party most sedulous to en-

courage, to caress and to court it. In Ohio, the

whig governor, Webb, boasts in his electioneer-

ing speeches, as we have already quoted them, that

he was the first candidate for governor in that State,

who ventured to stump the State on the principle

of "equal rights to the negro!" In the same State, the whole whig party take the notorious Giddings into their full communion and fellowship, and set him down in their election returns as a good and true whig. In Michigan, Gordon, the whig candidate for Congress, parades his abolitionist position, and his palpable disregard of the compact of the constitution as follows:

"Any extension of slavery beyond the original limits thereof, (the thirteen States,) I consider not only UNWARRANTED by the constitution, but a VIOLATION of the compromise by which slavery was allowed to remain at all within the United States."

"So far as regards the trade or migration (of slaves) between the States, the constitution has expressly conferred the power to Congress, with the exception that it should not be exercised previous to the year 1808."

On the other hand, his democratic opponent, Bradley, replies to the interrogatories propounded him by the abolitionists, in affirmation of the constitutional right to admit States into the Union, irrespective of the property of any interference by Congress in the removal of slaves from one State to another. In New York, it is well known how the whigs resorted to every form of appeal to the abolitionists in 1844, and how sternly the democrats refused to make such appeal. It is known, too, how much the whigs rely upon abolition aid to defeat Mr. Wright in the election which takes place to-morrow. We need not speak in detail of the recent doings of the whigs in New England. The infamous bargain for abolition votes which put John P. Hale into the United States Senate—electing him in Maine, upon whig invitation, of Hale and Giddings, and Hudson—the loud abolitionist demonstrations of the whig State convention in Massachusetts, and its deliberate avowal that whig principles on the whole subject of human freedom, are identical with the principles of the "liberty party"—all these things we have set before our readers in detail, and in the words of the whigs themselves. We have also given the deliberate approval of them by the national whig organ at Washington. And now, most strange of all, we hear from the far south, that this deliberate incor-

poration of the worst forms of abolitionist fanaticism into the whig creed of the north, receives, at least, the qualified encouragement and approbation even of some of the southern whigs themselves! In the very last number which we have received of the Mobile Journal—a paper which, as whigs and democrats well know, never speaks at random—we find the following most alarming passage. We commend it to the deliberate attention of every man in the south, whom party spirit has not maddened into a suicidal recklessness of all those dearest interests which belong to the safety of his property, to the security of his home, and to the sanctity of his hearthstone.

"With these glaring facts—the question of the people of the south to consider, is not how many anti-slavery men have existed in this or that party, so long as the slave question was not made an issue. We hear northern whigs insist every day, that it failed in 1844. The whig party of the north attempted in 1844. Some of these men do not rightly consider what they say. The whig party of the north is attempting it again; and whenever it succeeds in any plan to extend the whig party of the north, it will be the whig party of the north, and it will be the whig party of the north."

Can such things be, and at the south too? Then, indeed, must we be in the bitter sincerity of our hearts that the giant party rage has become utterly mad and eyes, and that already his fatal hand is laid heavily upon the sacred pillars of our Union. And all this, be it remembered, is the boasted conservatism of the conservative party of the country.

Next the abolitionists among the peasant families, whose aid these conservative whigs are now courting, stands that association banding against the land laws of the State of New York, and known as the anti-rent party. That there is something to be reformed in these laws, and that the democratic par-

ty is eager to effect such just and salutary reform in a legal and constitutional manner, is not to be questioned. But the anti-rent party has, and has been for years, avowedly arrayed to put down the law by force, and in this purpose they have slain more than one agent of the law, with its process in its hands, by DELIBERATE AND WILFUL MURDER! The whig party, of New York, in their convention at Syracuse, in full view of these facts, chose John Young to be their candidate for governor, on the ground that he was a whig anti-renter, and could command the majority vote of the whig anti-rent district! The anti-rent convention adopted this whig nomination, and made him their nominee. The same anti-rent convention proffered their support to the democratic nominee for lieutenant governor, and—mark the fact!—he replied upon the instant and spurned their proffer. Yet in the face of these facts the national whig organ at Washington, is ignorant enough, or dishonest enough to publish, this morning, the following comment upon a paragraph from the Alexandria Gazette:

"We find the annexed paragraph in the Alexandria Gazette, but, as we have seen, no notice in the government paper here of such an insult to its party, we should doubt its accuracy, were it not so evidently authentic. The Union has been trying to persuade us that Mr. Young was the candidate of the anti-renters."

"SHOWING HANDS.—The Albany 'anti-renter,' the organ of the rabid thorough-going anti-renters, is not strongly in favor of electing Silas Wright, insisting that from him the anti-renters have much to hope, from John Young nothing; and the editor makes no secret of the fact that he has a personal interest in defeating the whig candidate. Elmer John Young, he says, and the 'anti-renter' ceases to exist."

As the best reply to this, we insert the following paragraph from that sound democratic journal, the Albany Advertiser. The "third district" thus braggarted upon by the Evening Journal, (the whig organ at the seat of government in New York,) is made up of the anti-rent counties:

"CALCULATIONS OF THE WHIGS.—Let the city of New York do its worst, and the third district will balance it.—Evening Journal.

"This is the brag of the reckless gamblers of the Journal schools. It is a key to the nomination of John Young, in the face of the public sentiment of his own party, and against the official preference of three-fourths of the State convention which nominated him. It was in this desperate venture that Fillmore was thrown overboard, and John Young juggled out a whig nomination, and then smuggled through an anti-rent convention afterwards. It is a calculation that is at the base of the whole fabric of whig hopes."

Such are the beauties of whig conservatism! With "the Union" for its motto, it joins with abolitionism, phrenzied to break up the Union; and with "law and order" on its banners, it opens its arms to a faction which murders sheriffs, when, with legal warrants in their hands, they attempt to execute the law!

One other instance of whig conservatism, the last, and perhaps the strongest, and we have done. Of late, the leading organs of the whigs have shown their conservative spirit towards our own institutions, by steadily advocating the cause of foreign nations, in our international controversies. It was so in Jackson's time, in the case of our claim upon France. It was so all through the recent Oregon discussions. Especially was it so when whig opposition came in to the aid of French and English intrigues, to prevent the annexation of Texas. Here, indeed, the whig conservatism had a double object in view. On the one hand, it was conservative in their view, to help the foreign plotters against the growing strength of our confederacy; and on the other hand, it was, in the whig judgment, vastly conservative to withhold the shield of our constitution from the newly acquired freedom of an infant republic, and thus to subvert on the North American continent a diplomatic system of relations with its border forts and border custom-houses, and almost inevitable collisions and hostilities in the place of that confederate system in which our fathers saw the sheet anchor of the domestic peace of this quarter of the globe. But most of all, in our war with Mexico, has the conservative spirit of the whigs found occasion to display itself. To put their own government in the wrong—to abuse the war as unconstitutional and aggressive—to stigmatize those who carry it on as "lawless men," and itself as a "rapine"—to predict disaster and embarrassment for us—to raise prematurely territorial questions which can be adjusted only by the constitutional authorities of the country—to scan the proclamations of our officers issued in their moment of victory, and intended to tranquillize the regions which they have conquered—with the patriotic purpose of picking out, here and there, a phrase upon which to ground at least an hypothesis that the officer may have been led to transcend, in some slight degree, and with such a purpose in view, his authority under the constitution of the United States; and, in one word, to do their utmost for our enemies, by making themselves the avowed advocates of the Mexican cause and Mexican interests; all this, in conjunction with abolition and anti-rentism, makes up the new-fangled patriotic conservatism of the whigs!

Upon as good, or better reasons, did the conservatism of 1812 enter upon its Hartford convention deliberations, after having first proclaimed it "unfit and unbecoming, in a moral and religious people, to rejoice at their country's victories in such a war!" That elder conservatism, in its day, was beaten down, and left our republic erect and honored, progressive and free! So will it be, too, with this second-hand whig conservatism, which thus prostitutes a sacred name to the basest uses of faction!

"THE UNION—IT MUST BE PRESERVED." The friends of the United States are not aware of the designs that are formed and the preparations that are making to strike directly or indirectly at the Union. Several of the northern whigs are seeking a coalition with the abolitionists. Instead of rebuking that meddlesome and fanatical spirit, which would destroy all the compromise of the constitution, and protect the edifice of the Union itself, they are striving to obtain the votes of the abolitionists for the whig candidates. The editor of the New York Tribune will not deny this to be their game. He has said, that if the abolitionists unite on the whig candidate in 1846, instead of voting for a third party, Mr. Clay would have been elected. Mr. Webster attempted to persuade this third party in 1844 to drop their own flag, and vote with the whigs. They are making the same effort again. They will attempt to bring the abolitionists into the whig ranks; and in this purpose they are coming more and more into the domain of the abolitionists—encouraging the overtures of such go-between as John P. Hale—inviting him to address the whigs of Boston at Faneuil Hall—passing strong and threatening resolutions against slavery and the south. They are now hinting that they prefer a presidential candidate from the non-slaveholding States; and the distinguished whigs of the south may well hang their heads upon the willows at once. Such at least are the present signs of the times. With this view, the "organ of foreign influences and of factious fanaticism," in this city, does not rebuke the abolition spirit. So far from it, it is attempting to throw around the abolitionists the mantle of Jefferson's name.

It is not political abolitionism alone, which threatens to shake the constitution itself—but there is a fanatic abolitionism abroad in the north, which strikes boldly and undauntedly at the Union itself. It is rarely indeed that we open the pages of Garrison's Liberator, which, of itself, is scarcely worthy of serious consideration; but the number of Friday last, affords a singular document before its readers. It is a single article, perhaps the last writing, of Thomas Clarkson, whose labors in arresting the African slave

trade are so well known, in England. It appears, that Garrison, and the well-known George Thompson, and Frederick Douglass, the fugitive slave from Maryland, paid a visit to Thomas Clarkson, in September last, on paring with them, he handed to Garrison and Thompson a paper giving his "last and mature thoughts on the subject of American slavery, and especially on the subject of a dissolution of the Union." Mr. Clarkson was then in the 87th year of his age. Garrison puts forth this extraordinary paper in his "Liberator," and endorses it, of course. It gives the substance of his conversation with "a number of American gentlemen, who were in London some time ago," whose names are not given, but who do not seem, if we may judge by this sketch, to have stood up as strongly and clearly as they might have done, by the institutions and by the Union of their country. The great object of Mr. C. is to carry out the familiar slang of the northern abolitionists, "No union with slaveholders." He attempted to convince his American visitors, that the north would be much happier, if entirely disconnected from the south; that they would be stronger, wealthier, more respected and powerful abroad, more religious and moral at home. Mr. C. contends that slavery is the mother of infidelity, and is so grossly ignorant of the condition of the southern and western States, that one would suppose they were destitute of religion, had few meeting-houses, and no independent ministers among them; and that, if they were separated from the non-slaveholding States, they would scarcely have strength enough to defend themselves against their own slaves, much less to make any efficient defense in case of war with the other States, or with a foreign nation. The number of bells which floated on the air of this metropolis on yesterday's Sabbath, attests the extent of her religion; and the noble volunteers from Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Baltimore and Washington, are irrefragable evidences of the military strength which they contribute to the Union. But we forbear to dwell upon this theme. Heaven forbid that we should ever come to "calculate the value of this noble Union"—much less to say, which portion of our beloved country will suffer most by its dissolution. We throw out these statements merely to show what gross ignorance is entertained abroad about the character of our institutions, and what mischievous schemes are on foot in the north.

As we write, we think ourselves bound to notice a new scheme which is said to be in agitation in relation to this District—bordering, as it does, on two of the slaveholding States. We earnestly trust that there may be some mistake in these statements; but we think it our duty to submit them for the information of others, and to protest against the whole scheme. As the National Intelligencer may know more about it than we know, we "ask for information."

From the Albany Patriot, (an abolition print.)

LIBERTY PAPER AT WASHINGTON CITY.—Our readers will remember, many of them, that this project occupied a considerable share of attention at the anti-slavery convention in this city in December, 1844. Many then were in favor of such a move, and seemed to think that a great amount of good might be accomplished by the aid of a powerful influence exerted in behalf of crushed humanity in the person of the southern chieftain. Whether this meeting in 1844 was the first to suggest this idea, we do not remember; but the subject has been brought up at intervals ever since. At the "northwestern liberty convention," held in Chicago last June, a committee of five was appointed to consider the matter and take such preliminary steps as would result in the establishment of such a press should it be deemed expedient.

A late number of the Western Citizen contains a report from this committee, embracing the following plan, drawn out at some little length. That the following plan of the anti-slavery cause demands such an organ; that its expenses, at least for a year or two, will necessarily much exceed its income; that \$5,000 be raised by contributions, to be put into the hands of Lewis Tappan, of New York, as trustee, to meet any deficiency arising the first three years; that Dr. Bailey, of Cincinnati, be the editor and proprietor on these terms, as he has consented to be; that John G. Whittier in the literary and editorial department; that the following names be assistant editors; that subscriptions of the amount of \$5 and upward be solicited for this purpose, to be sent to Mr. Tappan, and acknowledged in the Emancipator; and designating the following names as would result in the establishment of such a press should it be deemed expedient.

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and then, in view of the Intelligencer's vehement and reiterated charges against us of misrepresentation, we shall leave our readers to judge whether the shame of the transaction really falls.

Col. Morgan, the gallant colonel of 2d regiment of Ohio volunteers, writes from Camargo on the 22d September, before he had heard of the victory at Monterey, that "if Mexico will not make a favorable peace, our government must push on the war with energy."

"This is a glorious country—the greatest in the world. Two crops of corn, melons, potatoes, and I believe, of everything that grows in this climate, can be raised in a year. During the hot season, the heat of the sun is intense from 9 a. m. to 4 p. m., but the nights and mornings are unequalled. You would be surprised at the barbarism of the Mexicans. They have educated people among them, but the mass are savages."

MUNICIPAL ELECTION.

Benjamin B. French, esq., was elected an Alderman from the fifth ward in this city on Friday last, to supply a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Alderman Beck.

OFFICIAL.

U. S. TRANSPORT, LEXINGTON, N. Y. Rio Janeiro, Sept. 11, 1846.

Sir: The Lexington, under my command, arrived this day.

After taking on board water and other necessaries, I shall proceed forthwith in further prosecution of your orders. It affords me pleasure to state that my own ship's company, as well as the troops and supernumeraries, are in good health, and that the greatest harmony subsists between the officers of the two services.

I have the honor to be, Very respectfully, Your obedient servant,

(Signed) F. BAILEY, Lieut. Com. U. S. ship Lexington.

To the Hon. Gen. BANCROFT, Secretary of the Navy.

The following convention has been transmitted to the Navy Department. From this, it appears, that an armistice has been concluded between Gen. Rosas and Gen. Oribe; and that there is every prospect of peace being restored between Buenos Ayres and Montevideo. We may not only congratulate both States on the termination of the calamities of war, but all commercial nations on the restoration of the blessings of peace and of commerce.

Proposals and basis of negotiation were offered to Governor Rosas by the Argentine and French Governments. The Argentine Government of France and England, by common consent with Governor Rosas, will procure a suspension of hostilities between the Oriental forces of the city of Montevideo and the city.

31. The armistice obtained, the two plenipotentiaries will request of the government the disarming of all foreigners who are armed in Montevideo, as well as in any other point of the territory.

32. The armistice, with the disarming of the troops, will be followed by the evacuation of the city. Argentine forces from all and every point of the territory.

33. Immediately after the execution of the two previous articles—that is to say, the disarming of the troops and the evacuation of the city—the island of Martin Garcia to be delivered to the Argentine government, and also the vessels of war which were captured, all in the same state, in which they were found, as far as may be practicable, and the Argentine flag to be saluted with twenty-one guns; the merchant vessels captured by either party shall be reciprocally restored to their owners.

34. It is admitted that the navigation of the Parana river is considered inferior to navigation, subject only to the regulations and laws of the Argentine republic so long as it occupies the two margins of that river.

35. It is acknowledged and understood that the Argentine republic possesses free and unequivocal rights in peace and war which correspond to any other state, and although the circumstances which obliged the two intervening powers temporarily to interrupt the navigation of the river of the Plata, it is admitted that the principle on which they acted would be equally applicable to England and France under similar circumstances.

36. An election shall take place in the Oriental State of the presidency of the republic, with entire submission to the constitutional laws of the country, without compulsion of any class, or from either party, General Oribe obliging himself to govern in conformity with the laws of the republic, and to be a general amnesty, reciprocal and complete in persons and property, acknowledgment of the rights of all foreigners, doing justice to their found reclamations. The amnesty is not to be an exception, but a general principle of the republic, and the Banda Oriental gives unto General Rosas just cause of complaint or compromise by their conduct the good relations of these republics, they shall be removed from the territory, and sent to such foreign port as they may designate.

37. These bases admitted by Governor Rosas and General Oribe, if refused by the government of the republic, the plenipotentiaries of the two powers will withdraw from the intervention of their governments, and it will be withdrawn effectually if these persuasions are not admitted.

N. B. The foregoing proposals have been accepted by General Rosas and General Oribe, and in the name of the government of the republic. Montevideo, Aug. 21, 1846.

The new rifle regiment organized at Jefferson Barracks, has been ordered to point label, from the station of the Squadron of the Infantry, and Orders have been received by Major Burdridge to prepare at once for their departure.

(St. Louis Review, Oct. 25.)

FROM BRAZOS.—The ship Clinton arrived yesterday from Brazos Santiago, where she landed a company ofappers and miners, 35 in number, from New York.

The ship John Holland, Capt. Henderson, arrived at Brazos on the 17th instant, with troops from New York. The steam-schooner Florida had been aground on the bar at Brazos, but got off and sailed for this port, with a number of those wounded at Monterey on board.

The Gale.—We are beginning to hear more of the effects of the Gale. The ship Silas Holmes arrived yesterday from New York. She felt the gale on the 12th instant, and suffered no damage; but on the 20th saw a ship ashore between Key West and the Bahamas.

The Courier of last evening has the following paragraph in relation to the subject:

"It is the opinion of nautical men of judgment and experience, with whom we have conversed, that the late gale, or rather tornado, did not extend as far as the supposed extent of Vera Cruz. It is believed that the great swell experienced off Brazos Santiago, which prevented the mails from being put on board the Galveston, was caused by that tornado, and not by the late wind. Commodore Conner's ships were safe from all damage."

Since writing the above, we have learned more from Havana. Three French vessels-of-war lying in that harbor were most injured, but it is not ascertained whether they have been discharged here. The American bark, Madeline, Captain Shankland, from that port, was sunk in the harbor. We do not know whether she had discharged her cargo.

FROM OUR NEW YORK CORRESPONDENT.

New York, Oct. 31, 1846.

The Tribune of this morning has the following extract of a letter from the city of Mexico, dated September 23, 1846:

"The proposition of the President of the United States for negotiating a peace will be the first question considered by the Mexican junta."

"We have no doubt the consideration of the overture by the junta will result in a consultation of a commission to be appointed by the two powers."

It is to be hoped that the operations of General Taylor and the rest of our forces in Mexico will anticipate the tardy action of "the Mexican junta," or at least that the thunder of our cannon at the gates of their cities will precipitate the decision of that body to a peaceful conclusion.

Our country meeting last night, to respond to our State and county nominations, was a cheering demonstration—immense in numbers and full of enthusiasm.

The following resolutions in reference to the general government were adopted with a hearty unanimity:

"Resolved, That the democracy of the city of New York regard with feelings of delight the fact that a democratic republic Congress have adopted a series of laws, carrying into active operation the great principles of free trade between the several nations of the earth. The tariff of 1846, the warehouse bill, and the independent treasury law, are the first fruits of the glorious victory which resulted in the elevation of James K. Polk to the presidency and George M. Dallas to the vice presidency of the United States. These great measures will receive the warmest support of the American people."

"Resolved, That the democracy of the city of New York have unqualified confidence in the President, James K. Polk, whose whole course has received the approval of his republican friends throughout the country; his firm and determined support to democratic measures and principles, proves him to be a worthy successor of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, and Van Buren."

"Resolved, That George M. Dallas, as Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate, in giving his casting vote in favor of the tariff of 1846, has secured the confidence of the democracy of the school of Jefferson and Jackson. All true democrats will sustain the man who supports principle without reference to his individual interests."

It was reserved for the name of Mr. Dallas to be received with an outburst of applause, which showed plainly that his "casting vote" has secured for him a stronghold upon the always honest heart of his people.

The Baltimore Patriot figures up a whig majority in the total vote in Georgia, at the recent Congressional election there, by leaving out entirely the 5th district (Lumpkin's), where the democratic majority is so overwhelming, that though there were two democrats running, the whigs did not dream of starting a candidate. This is a truly whig fashion of cyphering out victories. Georgia will show, when the time comes, what sort of a majority she can give.

The youthful enthusiast of the Tribune goes into all the ecstasies of this morning over the final results of the Maine election; which rejoices have given the whigs a majority of the legislature. The Augusta Age, this morning received, classes the members elected thus: 57 democrats, 57 whigs, and 5 abolitionists.

The southern mail this afternoon brings most melancholy tidings of the effects of the late gale in the Gulf of Mexico and the surrounding waters.